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**1991/04/27**

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CARTER

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Department of State

INCOMING  
TELEGRAM

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ACTION EAP-00

ACTION OFFICE CH-05  
INFO OCT-01 P-01 EX-01 PHO-01 RA-01 UH-01 EAP-04 CONG-01  
/016 A3 D1M

INFO LOG-00 ACDA-13 AOS-00 AID-00 AMAD-01 CIAE-08 CPR-02  
DOOE-08 DS-09 EB-00 EA-09 IHR-08 IHR-01 L-03  
NSAE-08 NSCE-00 PA-01 PH-00 PRS-01 P-02 SP-00  
SSO-08 SS-00 USIE-00 USSS-00 /039V  
-----SF4C50 270912Z /21 22

8 270325Z APR 81  
FM AMEMBASSY BEIJING  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4716  
INFO AMCONSUL GUANGZHOU  
AMCONSUL CHENGDU POUCH  
ZEMANCONSUL SHENYANG POUCH  
AMCONSUL SHANGHAI POUCH  
AMCONSUL HONG KONG

CONFIDENTIAL BEIJING 12198

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR  
TAGS: PREL, CH, OVIP (CARTER, JIMMY)  
SUBJECT: FORMER PRESIDENT CARTER'S MEETING WITH QIAN  
QIYUEN

1. CONFIDENTIAL -- ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY: DURING A 30-MINUTE PRE-DINNER MEETING WITH CHINESE FOREIGN MINISTER QIAN QIYUEN, FORMER PRESIDENT JIMMY CARTER, NOTING THE PERSONAL STAKE HE HAD IN U.S. RELATIONS WITH THE PRC, MADE A STRONG PITCH FOR THE PRC TO HEAL THE WOUNDS OF TIANANMEN SQUARE SO AS TO PERMIT SINO-U.S. RELATIONS TO CONTINUE DEVELOPING IN A POSITIVE

DIRECTION. HE ALSO URGED CHINA TO TALK WITH THE DALAI LAMA ABOUT TIBET. QIYUEN RESPONDED THAT CHINA WAS NOT WILLING TO SEE THE ISSUE OF HUMAN RIGHTS BECOME A FACTOR IN SINO-U.S. RELATIONS, THAT ALL STUDENTS IN THE UNITED STATES ARE FREE TO RETURN TO CHINA WITHOUT FEAR OF PERSECUTION, THAT THE DALAI LAMA CAN SPEAK DIRECTLY TO THE PRC GOVERNMENT THROUGH ESTABLISHED CHANNELS AND THAT THOSE WHO CRITICIZE CHINA'S HUMAN RIGHTS RECORDS KNOW VERY LITTLE ABOUT CHINA. END SUMMARY

3. QIYUEN WELCOMED FORMER PRESIDENT CARTER BY NOTING THIS WAS THE FORMER PRESIDENT'S THIRD VISIT TO CHINA AND THAT HE WAS THE ONE WHO HAD NORMALIZED RELATIONS WITH THE PRC. HE WENT ON TO SAY THERE WERE TWO REASONS THAT SINO-U.S. RELATIONS HAD BEEN ABLE TO DEVELOP SO SMOOTHLY: THE 1972 NIXON VISIT AND THE 1979 NORMALIZATION. NOTING THAT NIXON WAS A REPUBLICAN WHILE CARTER WAS A DEMOCRAT, QIYUEN SAID HE HOPED BOTH POLITICAL PARTIES WOULD CONTINUE TO BELIEVE IT IMPORTANT TO DEVELOP RELATIONS WITH CHINA SO THAT THE RELATIONSHIP WOULD NOT FALL VICTIM TO PARTISAN POLITICAL DISPUTES.

4. FORMER PRESIDENT CARTER TOLD QIYUEN THAT DENG XIAOPING AND HE HAD HAD A CLEAR UNDERSTANDING OF THE BASIS FOR DEVELOPING THE BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP AND THAT OF ALL THE STEPS THE TWO MEN HAD TAKEN (TRADE AGREEMENTS, MFA, INSTITUTING PRIVATE AND OFFICIAL EXCHANGES) THE MOST INTERESTING WAS THAT OF STUDENT EXCHANGES. HE POINTED OUT THAT WHEN THE MATTER WAS FIRST DISCUSSED, DENG HAD ASKED WHETHER THE U.S. WOULD ACCEPT 500 CHINESE STUDENTS. THE FORMER PRESIDENT HAD REPLIED THAT THERE WOULD BE NO LIMITS IMPOSED. SINCE THEN, THE NUMBER OF CHINESE STUDENTS IN THE U.S. HAD GROWN TO 50,000. THIS

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MAO GREATLY ENHANCED MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES. QIYUEN AGREED THAT THE TWO COUNTRIES' UNDERSTANDING OF EACH OTHER'S VERY DIFFERENT HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL BACKGROUNDS AND SOCIAL SYSTEMS HAD BEEN GREATLY ADVANCED BY SUCH EXCHANGES. HE ADDED THAT SUCH DIFFERENCES HAD NOT PROVEN ANY OBSTACLE TO THE NORMALIZATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF RELATIONS AND THAT THE STEPS THE U.S. AND PRC HAD TAKEN IN 1972 TOOK INTO ACCOUNT THE TWO COUNTRIES' SUPREME NATIONAL INTERESTS WHICH TRANSCENDED SUCH DIFFERENCES.

5. FORMER PRESIDENT CARTER WENT ON TO SAY THAT HE AND DENG HAD ALWAYS BELIEVED IT IMPORTANT NOT TO REFRAIN FROM RAISING SENSITIVE ISSUES. FOR HIS PART, HE HAD RAISED THE ISSUE OF HUMAN RIGHTS, ESPECIALLY FREEDOM OF SPEECH AND RELIGION. HE HAD ASKED DENG TO HAVE FREEDOM OF RELIGION GUARANTEED IN THE CHINESE CONSTITUTION AND THIS WAS DONE IN THE SPRING OF 1981. WHEN HE VISITED SHANGHAI IN THE FALL OF 1981, HE SAW THE CHURCHES IN SHANGHAI WERE OPERATING WITHOUT RESTRICTION. DENG HAD IN TURN ASKED SENSITIVE QUESTIONS ABOUT U.S. RELATIONS WITH VIETNAM, PAKISTAN, THE USSR AND SOUTH KOREA. THE FORMER PRESIDENT SAID DENG HAD TOLD HIM IN 1979 THAT CHINA WOULD HAVE TO PUNISH VIETNAM. CARTER HAD ASKED HIM NOT TO DO IT. DENG SAID IT WAS BEIJING'S DECISION, NOT WASHINGTON'S. DENG ADDED, HOWEVER, THAT THE U.S. COULD OF COURSE EXPRESS ITS OPINION. THE FORMER PRESIDENT THEN NOTED THAT THE U.S. AND THE PRC WERE COOPERATING ON CAMBODIA AND HOPED TO SEE THE PROBLEM IN KOREA

RESOLVED.

6. FORMER PRESIDENT CARTER THEN POINTED OUT THAT THE BIGGEST PROBLEM IN THE BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP WAS JUKE 4 AND ITS AFTERMATH. HE SAID HE HOPE THIS DISTURBING FACTOR COULD BE RESOLVED. IN REPLY, QIYUEN NOTED THAT A/S SCHIFFER HAD VISITED CHINA AND THAT THE STATE DEPARTMENT WROTE A YEARLY REPORT ON HUMAN RIGHTS PRACTICES IN CHINA. NOTING THAT THE PRC HAD EXPRESSED ITS OPINION ON THE REPORTS ISSUED THIS YEAR AND THE YEAR BEFORE, QIYUEN

SAID CHINA WAS NOT WILLING TO HAVE HUMAN RIGHTS BE AN ISSUE WHICH WOULD FACTOR IN THE BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP. NEVERTHELESS, HE SAID HE WOULD DISCUSS ANY QUESTIONS FORMER PRESIDENT CARTER CARED TO RAISE AND WOULD GIVE HIM A COPY OF THE CHINESE CRITICISM OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS REPORT SHOULD HE SO WISH. QIYUEN CONTINUED THAT WHILE HE WAS IN THE U.S. IN 1980, HE MET WITH CONGRESSMEN WHO WERE VERY CONCERNED ABOUT HUMAN RIGHTS, BUT UNLIKE FORMER PRESIDENT CARTER -- WHO HAD BEEN TO CHINA AND EVEN VISITED TIBET -- THEY HAD NEVER BEEN TO CHINA. QIYUEN CLAIMED THAT WHILE THESE PEOPLE WERE FULL OF ENTHUSIASM FOR HUMAN RIGHTS, THEY KNEW VERY LITTLE ABOUT CHINA.

7. FORMER PRESIDENT CARTER STRESSED THAT HE DID NOT REPRESENT THE USG, BUT CAME TO CHINA AS SOMEONE WHO HAD DEVOTED A GREAT DEAL OF TIME TO STRENGTHENING SINO-U.S. TIES AS WELL AS ONE WHO HAD BEEN A HUMAN RIGHTS LEADER

ON A GLOBAL SCALE. HE NOTED THAT THE CARTER CENTER DEVOTED EXTENSIVE RESOURCES TO HUMAN RIGHTS AND GAVE A 100,000-DOLLAR PRIZE ANNUALLY TO THE "HUMAN RIGHTS HERO OF THE YEAR." HE ADDED THAT HE ALSO MEETS WITH HUMAN RIGHTS LEADERS FROM ALL OVER THE WORLD SUCH AS THE DALAI LAMA, WHO HAD RECENTLY VISITED PLAINS AND STAYED AT HIS HOUSE. FOLLOWING THE DALAI LAMA'S VISIT, THE FORMER PRESIDENT SAID HE MET WITH THE PRC AMBASSADOR TO THE

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U.S. TO TELL HIM WHAT HE HAD LEARNED AND TO ASK HIM TO  
ARRANGE MEETINGS BETWEEN THE DALAI LAMA AND THE PRC.

8. IN ADDITION, MANY CHINESE STUDENTS CAME TO THE CARTER CENTER. THEY ALL SAID THEY LOVED CHINA AND WERE LOYAL TO CHINA, BUT WERE CONCERNED ABOUT WHAT MIGHT HAPPEN TO THEM IF THEY RETURNED TO CHINA. CARTER ALSO SAID FANG LIZHI HAD VISITED HIM, SAID HE WANTED TO RETURN TO CHINA TO CONTINUE HIS WORK IN PHYSICS AND WOULD BE A LOYAL CITIZEN. THE FORMER PRESIDENT CONCLUDED THAT HE HAD NO PERSONAL KNOWLEDGE OF THESE CASES AND UNDERSTOOD CHINESE SENSITIVITIES ABOUT INTERFERENCE IN CHINESE INTERNAL AFFAIRS, BUT HE WANTED TO SEE HEALING IN CHINA, ESPECIALLY REGARDING THE STUDENTS, FOR WHOM HE FELT A CERTAIN RESPONSIBILITY BECAUSE STUDENT EXCHANGES HAD STARTED DURING HIS ADMINISTRATION.

9. QIAN REPLIED THAT THE DALAI LAMA COULD TALK DIRECTLY TO CHINA THROUGH CHANNELS THAT THE PRC HAD ESTABLISHED. CHINA, HE SAID, WAS OPEN TO HIS VIEWS. HE SAID SOME STUDENTS WENT TO THE CARTER CENTER BECAUSE IT WAS KNOWN FOR ITS HUMAN RIGHTS WORK, BUT THEY REPRESENTED A SMALL

MINORITY OF CHINESE STUDENTS CURRENTLY IN THE STATES. ALL 50,000 ARE ELIGIBLE TO RETURN TO SETTLE DOWN, TO SEE THEIR FAMILIES OR ENGAGE IN TOURISM AND SEVERAL THOUSAND HAVE ALREADY DONE SO. QIAN FINISHED BY OBSERVING THAT CARTER DIDN'T KNOW MUCH ABOUT FANG LIZHI BUT THAT AMBASSADOR LILLEY KNEW HIM WELL.

10. FORMER PRESIDENT CARTER TOLD QIAN THAT FANG HAD SAID THERE WERE NO CHARGES AGAINST HIM AND HE HAD COMMITTED NO CRIME. HE ADDED THAT FANG HAD SPECIFICALLY ASKED HIM TO CONVEY TO THE CHINESE AUTHORITIES HIS WISH TO COME HOME.

11. QIAN RESPONDED THAT HE UNDERSTOOD FORMER PRESIDENT CARTER HAD RECENTLY BEEN TO THE SOVIET UNION. CARTER SAID HIS WIFE HAD BEEN THERE TWICE IN 1990 BUT THAT HE HAD NOT BEEN THERE SINCE 1987. HE TOLD QIAN THAT WHEN HE CAME THROUGH CHINA ON HIS WAY TO THE SOVIET UNION IN 1987, DENG XIAOPING HAD ASKED HIM TO CONVEY A MESSAGE TO GORBACHEV ASKING HIM TO GET VIETNAM TO WITHDRAW FROM CAMBODIA, TO PULL ITS OWN TROOPS OUT OF AFGHANISTAN AND TO MAKE A POSITIVE STATEMENT ABOUT THE SINO-SOVIET BORDER PROBLEM. WHEN HE DELIVERED THE MESSAGE, GORBACHEV HAD SAID HE FOUND IT INTERESTING AND HAD TOLD HIM THE THREE PROBLEMS WOULD BE SATISFACTORILY RESOLVED. CARTER NOTED THAT THE PROBLEMS APPEARED TO HAVE INDEED BEEN RESOLVED AND OBSERVED THAT FOR ONE-HALF AN HOUR HE HAD BEEN A CHINESE DIPLOMAT. HE THEN INVITED QIAN TO VISIT HIM IN ATLANTA AND THE TWO PROCEEDED TO DINNER.

12. A COPY OF THIS MESSAGE WAS PROVIDED TO FORMER

PRESIDENT CARTER'S PARTY. HE DID NOT CLEAR THE TEXT.  
LILLEY

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